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Ancient Comment on Instrumental Music In the Psalms

William Green

The discussion of instrumental music in worship has gone on throughout all periods of church history. Ancient writers generally contrast the spiritual songs of Christian worship with the instruments used in the Jewish and heathen temples. The objection to such music continued in the Catholic Church as late as the time of Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274), and it was renewed by various reformers, including the illustrious Calvin. The history of the controversy is described at length, with extended quotations from many authorities, by M. C. Kurfees in his book, **Instrumental Music in the Worship** (Nashville, Gospel Advocate, 1911, 1950). It is the purpose of this article to study further the views of ancient Christian writers, in particular the comments they chose to make on various Psalms where instrumental music is mentioned.

During the second century Alexandria, in Egypt, became a great center for Christian learning. The chief representatives of the Alexandrian school are Clement of Alexandria (about 150-210 A.D.) and Origen (about 185-254). These men and their successors made great use of allegory in explaining the history and institutions of the Old Testament. That is, they took the words as not only having a literal, or historical meaning, but as having also a hidden meaning, serving as figures, or types, of things which are revealed and fulfilled in the New.

For the allegorical meaning of the Hebrew instruments Clement lays down the pattern which others were to follow. After denouncing the pagan use of instruments in their licentious festivals he continues:

"The Spirit, distinguishing from such revelry the divine service, sings: 'Praise him with the sound of trumpet,' for with sound of trumpet he shall raise the dead. 'Praise him on the psaltery,' for the tongue is the psaltery of the Lord; 'And praise him with the timbrel and the dance,' refers to the church meditating on the resurrection of the dead. 'Praise him on the chords and organ.' Our body he calls an organ, and its nerves are the strings by which it has received harmonious tension, and when struck by the Spirit, it gives forth human voices. 'Praise him on the clashing cymbals.' He calls the tongue the cymbal of the mouth, which resounds with the pulsation of the lips. . . The one instrument of peace, the word alone by which we honor God, is what we employ. We no longer employ the ancient psaltery and trumpet, and timbrel, and flute."¹

Systematic commentaries on the Psalms and other books of the Bible begin with Origen. Of his commentary on the Psalms only fragments remain, but its general character appears in the work of Eusebius, the well-known church historian of the time of Constantine

(about 325 A.D.). In his commentary on the ninety-second Psalm he writes:

"Formerly when those of the circumcision worshipped God in ordinances which were symbols and figures of things to come, it was not out of place to sing hymns to God with the psaltery and lyre, and to do this on the sabbath day. . . But we in an inward manner keep the part of the Jew, according to the saying of the Apostle (Rom. 8:28). . . We render our hymn with a living psaltery, a living lyre, in our spiritual songs. For the unison song of the people of Christ is more pleasing to God than any musical instrument. Thereby in all the churches of God with one mind and heart, with unity and agreement in faith and worship we offer to God a unison melody in our singing of Psalms. Such psalmodies and spiritual lyres we are wont to use, since the Apostle teaches this, saying, 'In psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.' By another interpretation the lyre might be the whole body, by whose movements and deeds the soul offers its appropriate hymn to God."²

Of all the Greek writers whose commentary on the Psalms is extant by far the best known is Chrysostom (345-407), for a time archbishop of Constantinople. In his exegesis of Scripture he follows the school of Antioch, proceeding from a grammatical and historical study of the text to its practical application to the needs of the time, without the elaborate allegory which belonged to the school of Alexandria. In a number of passages his homilies on the Psalms contrast the ritual of the Jewish worship, including their instrumental music, with the spiritual worship of the Christians. In an eloquent sermon on the forty-second Psalm he speaks of the usefulness of the Psalms and spiritual songs:

"If you enter into the sacred chorus of God you will be able to stand by David himself. There is no need of lyre there, nor of stretched strings nor plectrum, nor of musical skill, nor of any instruments. But if you choose, you will make yourself the lyre, putting to death the members of the flesh, and making a great harmony of the body with the soul."³

And on Psalm 144:

"Upon a psaltery of ten strings will I sing praise to thee,' that is, I will give thanks to thee. Then there were instruments with which they offered up their songs, but now instead of instruments the body is to be used. For now we sing also with the eyes, not with the tongue alone, and with the hands, and the feet, and the ears. For when each one of these members does that which brings God glory and praise . . . the members of the body become a psaltery and lyre, and sing a new song, not with words, but with deeds."⁴

And on Psalm 149:

"Many people take the mention of these instruments allegorically and say that the timbrel requires the putting to

death of our flesh, and that the psaltery requires us to look up to heaven (for this instrument resounds from above, not from below like the lyre). But I would say this, that in olden times they were thus led by these instruments because of the dulness of their understanding and their recent deliverance from idols. Just as God allowed animal sacrifices, so also he let them have these instruments, condescending to help their weakness.”⁵

And finally, on Psalm 150:

“Therefore, just as the Jews are commanded to praise God with all musical instruments, so we are commanded to praise him with all our members—the eye, the tongue, the ear, the hand. Paul makes this clear when he says, ‘Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your spiritual service.’ The eye praises when it does not gaze licentiously, the tongue when it sings, the ear when it does not listen to wicked songs and accusations against a neighbor, the mind when it does not devise treachery, but abounds in love, the feet when they do not run to do evil, but to carry out good works, the hands when they are stretched out, not for robbery and grasping and blows, but to give alms and to protect those who are wronged. Then man becomes a tuneful lyre, offering up to God a harmonious and spiritual melody. Those instruments were then allowed because of the weakness of the people, to train them to love and harmony, and to stir up their mind to do with pleasure the things that bring profit, for God wished through this sort of persuasion to bring them to a great zeal for him. For knowing their base and careless and indolent nature, God employed craft to arouse them from sleep, mixing the sweetness of melody with the toil of service.”⁶

It seemed to some that this argument about the allurements of music as God’s temporary device to arouse a dull and unresponsive people would apply equally against the continued use of singing in the church. This objection is considered in an anonymous work, of uncertain date, called “Questions and Answers to the Orthodox”:

“Question: If songs were invented by unbelievers to seduce men, but were allowed to those under the law on account of their childish state, why do those who have received the perfect teaching of grace in their churches still use songs, just like the children under the law?

“Answer: It is not simple singing that belongs to the childish state, but singing with lifeless instruments, with dancing, and with clappers. Hence the use of such instruments and the others that belong to the childish state is excluded from the singing in the churches, and simple singing is left. For it awakens the soul to a fervent desire for that which is described in the songs, it quiets the passions that arise from the flesh, it removes the evil thoughts that are implanted in us by invisible foes, it waters the soul to make it fruitful in the good

things of God, it makes the soldiers of piety strong to endure hardships, it becomes for the pious a medicine to cure all the pains of life. Paul calls this "the sword of the spirit," with which he arms the soldiers of piety against their unseen foes, for it is the word of God, and when it is pondered and sung and proclaimed it has the power to drive out demons."⁷

The writings of Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus (Kyrrhus) in Syria, belong to the generation which followed Chrysostom, in the second third of the fifth century. His Biblical commentaries are recognized as among the best produced in the ancient church. On Psalm 150 he writes:

"'Praise him with psaltery and harp . . .' These instruments the Levites formerly used when praising God in the temple. It was not because God enjoyed their sound, but because he accepted the purpose of their worship. For to show that God does not find pleasure in songs nor in the notes of instruments we hear him saying to the Jews: 'Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy instruments.' He allowed these things to be done for the reason that he wished to free them from the deception of idols. For since some of them were fond of play and laughter, and all these things were done in the temples of idols, he allowed these things in order to entice them. He used the lesser evil in order to forbid the greater, and used what was imperfect to teach what was perfect."⁸

Another treatise of Theodoret's, "On the Healing of Greek Afflictions," is an apologetic work in which one chapter is devoted to the pagan sacrifices. When Christians condemned them, the pagans pointed to the law of Moses, where animal sacrifices similar to their own were commanded. Theodoret explains this as a concession to the Israelites when they were first delivered from bondage:

So it was not in any need of victims or craving odors that God commanded them to sacrifice, but that he might heal the sufferings of those who were sick. So he also allowed the use of instrumental music, not that he was delighted by the harmony, but that he might little by little end the deception of idols. For if he had offered them perfect laws immediately after their deliverance from Egypt, they would have been rebellious and thrust away from the bridle, and would have hastened back to their former ruin."⁹

The writers of the Western church reproduced in Latin much that was traditional in the commentaries of Greek writers. Ambrose and Jerome in particular were indebted to Origen and those who followed him in the East. And the work of all these writers is gathered up in the great work of Augustine. His *Enarrationes*, or *Sermons* on the Psalms became one of the most popular works for readers of the Middle Ages. On Psalm 33, verse 2, he comments:

"'Confess to the Lord with the harp,' that is, confess to the

Lord presenting your bodies to him as a living sacrifice. ‘Sing praises to him with the psaltery of ten strings,’ that is, let your members be subject to the love of God and love of your neighbor, in which the three and seven commandments are kept.”¹⁰

Augustine elsewhere explains that the first three of the ten commandments depend on the love of God, the last three on love of one’s neighbor. The sabbath, it may be added, was (like the instruments of music) allegorically explained as a cessation from the works of sin. A second sermon on the same Psalm was delivered at Carthage, in a shrine constructed as a memorial to the martyr Cyprian, who had once been a bishop of that city. When the masses were converted in the time of Constantine, they brought with them habits of celebrating vigils in honor of the dead, in which instrumental music and other practices foreign to the church played a part. These had been generally suppressed by Augustine’s time, and he makes a reference to them in this sermon:

“‘Confess to the Lord with the harp, sing praises to him with the psaltery of ten strings’—these are the words we were just now singing, expressing them with one voice, and teaching your hearts. Has not a rule been established in the name of Christ with reference to those ‘vigils’ of yours, that harps (*citharae*, that is, lyres) should be excluded from this place? And here the order is given to play those instruments—‘Confess to the Lord with the harp, sing praises to him with the psaltery of ten strings.’ But let no one turn his heart to the instruments of the theater. Each one has in himself the instruments which are commanded, as it is elsewhere said: ‘In me, O Lord, are the vows of praise which I shall return to thee’.”¹¹

On Psalm 150 he writes:

“‘Praise the Lord in his saints.’ These very saints are thereafter meant in all the musical instruments. ‘Praise him with the sound of the trumpet,’ on account of its surpassing clearness. ‘Praise him with psaltery and harp.’ The psaltery is one praising God for things above, the harp one praising him for things below; that is, for heavenly and earthly things, seeing that God made heaven and earth. On another psalm we have already explained that the psaltery has its sounding wood above, to which the series of strings is attached in order to give a better sound, while the harp (*cithara*) has the wood beneath.”¹²

It is clear from the passages studied in this paper that there was a remarkable consensus among the principal writers of the ancient church on the subject of instrumental music. If the Old Testament enjoined the use of such instruments, they were interpreted as types of the spiritual worship of the New Testament, just as the sacrifices of the law were taken as types of the sacrifice of Christ, and the Christian’s sacrifice of his own body.

Notes

- 1 Clemens Alexandrinus, *Paedagogus* 2, 4. The Greek text is in *Patrologia Graeca* 8,441 f.; translated in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 2,248 f. It is reprinted in Kurfées, 129. On the allegorical interpretation of the Psalms, see Johannes Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulten der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Fruehzeit* (Münster, 1930), 87 f. For much of the material in this article I am indebted to this excellent study.
- 2 *In Psalm.* 91 *Patrologia Graeca* 23, 1171 f. What appears as Psalm 92 in the Hebrew, and most English Bibles is numbered 91 in the Greek, Latin, and modern Catholic Bibles, and this is the numbering of the *Patrologia*. Similar discrepancies in numbering will appear in following footnotes. The translation is my own.
- 3 *In Psalm.* 41 PG 55,158.
- 4 *In Psalm.* 143 PG 55,462 f.
- 5 *In Psalm.* 149 PG 55, 494.
- 6 *In Psalm.* 150 PG 55, 497.
- 7 *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos* 107 PG 6, 1354. Some manuscripts ascribe this work to Justin Martyr (about 150), but it is generally recognized as a much later work. It has been ascribed to Theodoret (who died about 458), to Diodorus of Tarsus (about 370), and left as an anonymous work of about 400. One sentence is translated in Kurfées, 193 f.
- 8 *In Psalm.* 150 PG 80, 1996.
- 9 *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 7 PG 83, 997; compare the section 996-1001.
- 10 *In Psalm.* 32 Enarratio I, 2 *Patrologia Latina* 36, 275.
- 11 *In Psalm.* 32 Enarr. II Sermo I, 5 PL 36, 279.
- 12 *In Psalm.* 150, 5 f. PL 37, 1964. In his sermons Augustine was especially fond of allegory. In at least five sermons he mentions the psaltery of ten strings as being the ten commandments. The psaltery with its wood above, the cithara below, is also mentioned at least five times.

Principles Of Biblical Interpretation In The Restoration Movement

Paul Southern

Pioneers in the Restoration Movement found themselves in a world of religious error with a multiformity of religious practices on every hand. Efforts at reform, though well meaning and far reaching, had failed to change the Catholic hierarchy. Roman ecclesiasticism continued, with an ever growing emphasis on the authority of an apostate church. The Reformation, furthermore, having veered from its original purpose, had evolved into a monstrous movement known as Protestantism. The papacy was hurling bitter anathemas against Protestantism, which was responding in like kind.

In the beginning Protestantism recognized the Bible as the only rule of faith and conduct. However, exponents of this noble sentiment never advanced very far in the correct interpretation of God's word. Tradition had so overshadowed the Bible that its fundamental principles were shrouded in obscurity. The commandments of men were replacing the authority of the Scriptures. Many persons considered the precepts of the Lord as only wise counsel, while some went so far as to dishonor the Bible as a "dead letter."

Among the Protestant denominations which had taken form there were some well defined systems of theology. Although differing widely on many particulars, nearly all Protestants had one thing in common, namely, they had developed human creeds. Creeds and confessions of faith had multiplied to enormous proportions. Although designed to protect the one faith and exclude error, they became a barrier to the truth. Dogmas of speculation displaced divine Scripture and estranged professing children of God one from another.

Glaring discrepancies and peculiarities were not unusual within a given sect. Religious leaders of equal intellectual and ecclesiastical rank would often cross swords under the same denominational banner. This condition was due to a number of causes. In the first place the religious world was in a state of flux. With transformation the order of the day, men were constantly shifting from one position to another. Released from the shackles of Roman dominion, earnest souls were feverish in their search for truth. Eager to debate the cause with their neighbors, sectarian leaders often met on the polemic platform. But one thing was noticeably absent, a well defined, comprehensive method of Scriptural exegesis. Sectarian trumpets were filling the air with many uncertain sounds. Nothing was more badly needed in the religious world than a return to the New Testament principles of Biblical interpretation as reflected in such statements as: "It is written," and "This is that which hath been spoken through the prophet."

The Restoration Movement was born for just such a time as this. Above the babel of clashing creeds the voice of the pioneers rang out with convincing clarity. Battle lines were drawn, and the fight began. Soldiers of the cross attacked all human creeds as an impeachment of the authority of the Scriptures. "Back to the Bible" in all matters of faith and practice became the rallying theme of the restorers, even before Thomas and Alexander Campbell arrived in America.

Appeal to the authority of the Scriptures was the primary issue of the day. Every undertaking was examined in the light of "thus saith the Lord." Leaders in the restoration movement were determined to "speak where the Scriptures speak, and to keep silent where the Scriptures are silent."

In his "Declaration and Address," Thomas Campbell sounded a clarion note which henceforth became the guiding principle in Biblical exegesis. "It was his conviction that, if men would adopt the Bible as the only standard of religious truth, and accent the meaning of words as determined simply by the rules of language, its true sense would be sufficiently obvious, and there would be universal agreement in relation to the things which it revealed" (Richardson, *Memoirs*, Book II, p. 11).

In a series of articles entitled "The Ancient Order of Things," Alexander Campbell waged a vigorous and untiring campaign against the divisive creeds of his day. Denouncing propositional dogmatics as an enemy to truth, he said: "Let the Bible be substituted for all human creeds; Facts, for definitions; Things, for words; Faith, for speculation; Unity of Faith, for unity of opinion; The Positive Commandments of God, for human legislation and tradition; Piety, for ceremony; Morality, for partisan zeal; The Practice of Religion, for the mere profession of it; and the work is done" (Campbell, *The Christian System*, p. 117).

Restoration leaders recognized the fact that God has spoken. They accepted the Bible as a divine revelation, complete, authoritative, infallible, and inerrant. With them a simple appeal to the Scriptures was regarded as final on all matters on which it treated. Alexander Campbell said: "The Bible alone must always decide every question involving the nature, the character or the designs of the Christian institution. Outside of the apostolic canon, there is not, as it appears to me, one solid foot of terra firma on which to raise the superstructure ecclesiastic" (Richardson, *Memoirs*, Book II, p. 495).

It was the contention of restoration leaders that the Bible is intelligible and self-explanatory when interpreted according to its own well defined method. Since the Bible's very nature and design is to unfold and make known, it admits of being understood. In looking to the Bible alone for all the spiritual plans and specifications of the Divine Architect, the restorers vigorously denounced the accumulated rubbish of human speculations. In matters of faith, they contended

uncompromisingly for unity, but in matters of judgment they appealed for liberty.

Leaders in the Restoration Movement held that the materials in God's great Temple of Truth are accurately fitted, marked, numbered, and displayed before the reader. It was believed that if the reader earnestly considered and carefully compared these materials, it was almost impossible to mistake their method. The precise meanings designed by God are obvious, they declared, when all the light of heaven's inspiration is focused on matters of faith and practice. "For the entire business of interpretation consists properly in the careful observation and comparison of the phenomena of revelation, preparatory to the determination of their respective places and relative bearings in the grand synthesis of the whole. The rules, therefore, by which we come to a just understanding of individual facts, and the method which controls the operation of those rules, and arranges those facts into the true Christian system, must be drawn from the nature of the subject as presented in the Bible itself" (Lamar, *Organon of Scripture*, p. 42).

With these principles of Biblical interpretation as their guide, pioneers of the faith settled everything with a "thus saith the Lord." For each item of faith and practice there had to be in the Scriptures a direct command, a clear example, or a necessary inference. Exegetical canons which did not measure up to these scriptural principles were rejected as the vagaries of men. The plea was not for human rules of interpretation, but for a return to the true method of exegesis indicated by the nature of the Scriptures themselves. Along these lines they pleaded with the religious world to return to the "ancient order of things."

Psychotherapy And The Christian Mission

Ralph V. Graham

Jesus Christ is the content of the Christian message. The mission of Christianity is human redemption, redemption which embodies forgiveness of past sins, the hope of immortality, and that maturity of personality which is the abundant life of the Christian. The standard of Christian maturity is the radiant personality of Jesus (Col. 1:28, Eph. 4:11-14). To enjoy the fullness of Christian maturity one must have a spiritual rebirth and be renewed in spirit day by day (John 3:3-5; 2 Cor. 4:16; Titus 3:4-7). This is spiritual transformation (Rom. 12:2).

It is possible to facilitate this redemptive and sanctifying process by applying the knowledge and techniques which the psychological sciences have discovered in their study and treatment of personality. Psychology, psychoanalysis, psychiatry, and psychotherapy provide much clinical data which is most helpful to those who concern themselves with the well being of the whole man. But, when Christians and psychotherapists work exclusively of one another, their knowledge, technique, and achievements are distorted, deficient, and retarded. However, when the efforts of these two groups are allowed to complement each other, man is the recipient of a healthier and fuller life. Though it is not always the case, these two redemptive forces, Christianity and Psychotherapy, can be quite compatible and mutually profitable.¹

I.

Common Interests of Psychotherapy and Christianity

With regard to subject matter, both Psychotherapy and Christianity are concerned with man's nature, behavior, motivation, maturation, mental and spiritual health, and relationships. Both reflect the universal conviction that there is a good life attainable for men. Each claims the ability to lead man into a healthier condition. Essential to the achievement of health and maturity is self-knowledge. Consequently, the Bible is not only a revelation of the one true God, it is also a mirror of man's true nature (James 1:23, 24).² Man must know his weaknesses and ills as well as his capacity for goodness and productiveness. Christianity provides motivation, power, and guidance for man in the realization of man's highest possibilities.

Psychotherapy and Christianity are both concerned with human goals. The integration of self, the cultivation of responsible love, and satisfactory personal relationships are sponsored by both alike.

¹W. Earl Biddle, *Integration of Religion and Psychiatry*, New York: the Macmillan Company, 1955, p. 21.

²Eric Fromm, *Man for Himself*, New York: Rinhart and Company, Inc., 1947, p. 7; Albert C. Outler, *Psychotherapy and the Christian Message*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954, p. 229.

Both aim at the reduction, if not the elimination, of undesirable symptoms in man, and the building up of a new capacity for responsible self-direction and creative interpersonal relations.

It is often thought that Psychotherapy strives toward the reduction of tension in personality while Christianity seeks to inspire action by creating tension. But this seeming contradiction is removed when we become aware of the fact that tensions are of two kinds: creative and destructive. There are deficit motives and growth motives. The former demand the reduction of tension and the restoration to homeostasis. This may be instinctual or infantile in character. Growth motives maintain tension in the interests of distant and often unattainable goals such as ideals, long range purposes, and subjective values.³ Psychotherapy and Christianity are both interested in the resolution of the tension-conditioned human problem of how to help the individual to become his true self (potentiality and possibility), how to help him learn to live with his fellows in responsible freedom.

Psychotherapy and Christianity are concerned also with moral values and man's ethical well being. The a-moral drives and impulses in man must be controlled whether their cause is a will corrupted by sin or infected by a neurosis. Both systems agree that the power and form of this control must come from and operate within and be based upon valid self-knowledge, self-acceptance, self-affirmation, and it must be directed toward interpersonal relations characterized chiefly by mutuality and love. Reason and conscious purpose must govern man's impulses. Love is the only force that can cope with man's lower nature and his unruly will. It inspires health and goodness, makes productive use of psychic energies, and knows no defeat, failure, self-contempt, or despair.

Both the Christian and the therapist seek to remove guilt and to overthrow the tyranny of a morbid conscience by reshaping the conscience and encouraging spontaneity and self-affirmation. Many psychotherapists believe that the tasks of Christianity and Psychotherapy are one and the same, namely, to remove or weaken the obstructive forces to the growth of the personality and to regain one's capacity to love altruistically: "reciprocal service in the evolution of our ever increasing human dignity, fraternity, and opportunity."⁴ This involves the rejection of moralism and a positive emphasis upon the rational direction of life and the natural upward thrust of life toward freedom, love, and self-realization.

Psychotherapy and Christianity both agree that life is growth toward meaningful living unhindered by authoritarian tyrannies and taboos. Both stress that spontaneity and mutuality are good

³Gordon Allport, *Becoming*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955, p. 68.

⁴Karen Horney, *Neurosis and Human Growth*, pp. 347-77; Fromm, *Psychoanalysis and Religion*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955, p. 87; Henry Stack Sullivan, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry*, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1947, p. 87.

signs of authentic human vitality. A certain permissiveness must make possible men's freedom to find courage and strength to live without servility and to be their real selves. Only a free assumption of responsibility and self control in interpersonal relations will make possible the experience of individual self-acceptance and self-expression. Psychotherapy and Christianity insist that only love, truth, and devotion can generate an atmosphere in which human character is transformed in the fresh air of freedom, dignity, and peace (see Rom. 12:1, 2; Eph. 4:15).⁵

II.

Tensions Between Secular Psychotherapy and Christianity

There is much division, sectarianism, and error in the therapeutic sciences just as there is in Christendom. We do not reject Christianity because of those who have misrepresented, or marriage because of abuses and failures. Neither should we reject the valid clinical data of the psychological sciences or the techniques and insights of those whose presuppositions and findings are not incompatible with Christian teaching. Psychotherapy can be Christian as well as naturalistic. First, let us note some of the tensions which secularistic psychotherapy generates between its advocates and Christians.

From Freud to Fromm, the men who have made psychotherapy were heirs of the Enlightenment, the secular revolution against Christianity.⁶ The rationalists denied the reality of sin, limited life to its earthly span, and held that the perfection of the good life can be achieved by man alone. Naturalism is man's declaration of independence (of God) and human sovereignty in the world. Man is thus the measure of himself. It denies man's dependence upon God, and his moral responsibilities, the necessity of Christ's atonement, and immortality. Freud viewed religion as a neurosis and an illusion and the concept of God as merely a projection of the father-image. There are many, however, who recognize the value of his clinical discoveries who do not accept his philosophical bias.⁷ We must, therefore, distinguish between the actual clinical data of psychoanalysis and the general philosophical view of the world which Freud and others have added to this. Tension is created between Psychotherapy and Christianity when psychotherapists try to substitute Psychotherapy for the Christian ordering of life, or when they attack the essence of morality and responsible freedom with views of deterministic mechanism or social adaptability. On the other hand, Christians ought to beware, too, that they do not attribute a **moral** quality to illnesses of

⁵Outler, loc. cit., p. 39.

⁶See Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*, New York: Liveright Publishing Co., 1949; Fromm, *Man for Himself*, and *Psychoanalysis and Religion*.

⁷Francis J. Braceland, *Faith, Reason, and Modern Psychiatry*, New York: P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 1955, pp. 17, 113; C. S. Lewis, *Christian Behavior*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946, p. 20.

the natural order. These are not sins and they do not need repentance but cure.

The Freudian view of man contradicts the Christian conception. For men like Freud or H. S. Sullivan, the self is independent of the idea of God. Here is Freud's structure of the human personality.⁸ The primal center of the self is called the **ID**, the hedonic drive which has but one aim, the discharge of tension and homeostasis (a condition of complete neutrality). Its energy is relatively constant, uneducable and a-moral. The survival of the organism depends upon curbing its heedless desires and setting up patterns of constraint and direction. These inhibitory and directive patterns emanate from two dynamic sources, which with the **id**, comprise a single energy system. The **ego**, the conscious self, seeks to order energy by the foresighted calculations of utility and reason which seek adjustment with reality. The **superego** represents the self-concern for social adaptation. It endeavors to domesticate the unruly libidinal drives by imposing taboos and sanctions of society, as these have been im-projected into the self from the parents and surrogates of society. The whole self is the precarious resultant of these non-parallel forces; it is the system of desire organized by controls which are partly authoritarian and partly rational. The human self is considered to be independent, autonomous, and self-sufficient. Its purpose is adaptability and its destiny is confined to the natural order.

The limitations of secularistic psychiatry are most obvious when we observe how much relevant data they reject so perfunctorily. There are areas of tension between secularistic therapy and Christianity which must be resolved before Psychotherapy can be carried on in a Christian context. Medical naturalists or culture analysts cannot reach a true estimation of the worth of persons if the human person has a final value. Further, without depth regeneration as the pre-condition of self-fulfillment, psychotherapy is always incomplete. Completeness is attainable only in reconciliation with God. Also, the secular therapist relies upon nature's resources as the principal means of maturation. But the resources of the Spirit of God are essential to full maturity. Dr. Elliot Emmanuel, professor of psychiatry at Magill University, Montreal, in an address in early March, 1956, declared that faith, prayer, and confession are superior to psychiatry and psychotherapy in curing mental and nervous disorders.⁹ Again, humanistic therapists conceive of human foresight and planning as decisive in the organization of society. They are most optimistic about the effects of programs of social change, reform, and progress. But the Christian will insist upon a radical social ethic which transcends compromise, social adaptability, and mere amelioration, and which is anchored to a stronger foundation than an empir-

⁸Calvin S. Hall, *A Primer of Freudian Psychology*, New York: the World Publishing Company, 1954, pp. 15-30.

⁹*Philadelphia Inquirer*, "The World of Religion," ed. Robert O. Kevin, March 26, 1956.

ical social system. Humanistic therapists rest their hopes for man's future on what man can do for himself. The Christian's confidence rests upon God's activity in past, present, and future, especially his activity in Jesus Christ. Despite these tensions, however, the Christian is profoundly indebted to the psychotherapists for their wisdom and clinical effectiveness which are not derived from anti-Christian viewpoints.

(Continued in next issue)

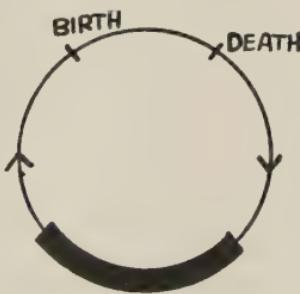
Time And History

J. D. Thomas

Inspiration's evaluation of the lives of many of the Old Testament characters is stated in the terms, "He did that which was right in the eyes of Jehovah," or "He did not that which was right in the eyes of Jehovah." Very obviously it will be of small importance whether the epitaph on a man's grave stone could carry "He made a million dollars," or "He exercised tremendous power." The Bible indicates that the real meaning of a man's life should be measured in terms of his acceptance to God.

What meaning is there in history, and what value is there in time? We are told that "time is stuff that life is made of," but we note that different people over the world evaluate time differently, and give different values to the meaning of history. The ancient Greeks had a "cyclical" view of time, which means that time constantly repeats itself and nothing new ever happens.

GREEK VIEW



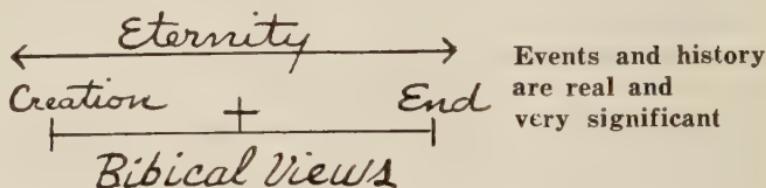
Events have
no historical
significance.

According to Pythagoras each man lives his allotted time on the earth, goes "below," is reabsorbed, and later is reborn as another individual, man or animal. If he was good, he will have a noble birth the next time; otherwise, he will probably be a tyrant or a person of lesser quality. At death his "soul" is reabsorbed into its original source and later reissued as another individual. There is in this, of course, a doctrine of "immortality." In this Greek view, however, there is no room for single, one-time events to occur, such as the death of Christ, because nothing really ever happens in any time cycle unless it has happened in all other previous cycles. This means, then, that the history of past events cannot be really significant or meaningful to people of our generation, because whatever has happened will happen again, and there can be no real meaning for historical events as such.

The Hindu, Buddhist, and other Eastern concepts of time and history are similar to that of the Greek view except that in rebirth, the Easterners hold that a man might come back into the world as a plant or animal instead of as a man. They also hope for the rare

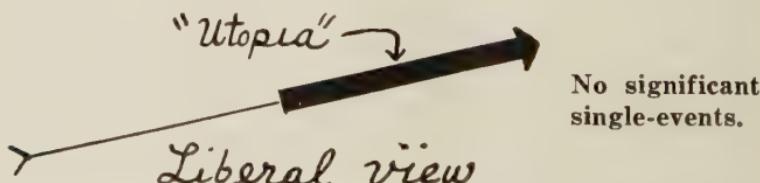
possibility of reaching "Nirvana" by being good enough, over a long enough number of lives. The Greek view here also would allow that one might conceivably get to the point where he could cease "transmigration."

In due course the Biblical view of time offset and overcame the Greek view in the outlook of Western man. The Biblical view of time is that God is in eternity, transcending time. Time itself is significant for man and has as its focal points, a creation, a final end or consummation, and a mid-point of history which centers in the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ.



In this Biblical view there is teleology, or purpose, in God's plan for humanity, and consequently, purpose in every individual's life. In this "straight-line" view of history, events do not automatically repeat themselves, and there is a place for important single-events such as the creation, crucifixion, and judgment, any of which is of great significance in relation to the purpose of the world and the meaning of human existence. This means, then, that each individual's life is of a tremendous importance, and since we will not be involved in a "transmigration," whatever we are to do in life must be done at the present time, and we have to make the most of our opportunities, now. No doubt this Biblical view has permeated American philosophy sufficiently to really be the underlying cause of the American "know-how," and our ability to get things done. We go by clocks and calendars and are influenced by strong psychological pressures toward personal efficiency, because we know that we will never have another chance, to do what we hope to do.

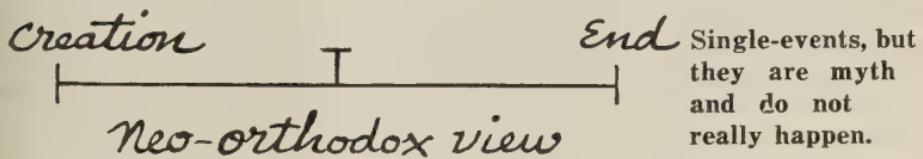
Liberal theology has modified this Biblical view of time in recent years.



The liberal view is like the Biblical view only in that it is "straight-line." However, it is more akin to the Greek view, in that in liberal philosophy there is no beginning, no end, no purpose or teleology; there is no real, historical "death, burial, and resurrection" of Christ, and there is no real meaning for history or time, as in the Biblical

view. The liberals are influenced by Hegel's philosophy of "progress," which recognizes a naturalistic, constant growth to higher levels of human achievement and development. Actually, the liberal line must be slanted upward, to indicate that man is, by his own wits, going to reach an ultimate "Utopia," or blessed-state of existence, right here on the earth. To them this will be the "Kingdom of God." They are extremely optimistic and, of course, extremely man-centered and have not much need for God in their picture. Their outlook is based on "natural" theology, and since they reject the supernatural altogether, it is truly more like the Greek view than the Biblical view.

As a reaction to the liberal view, we have the time concept of the Neo-Orthodox theologians, the group which is becoming dominant in America today and which is responsible for the great "revival of religion," as the newspapers are phrasing it. These men have seen the emptiness of the liberal outlook and hope to arrive at a view that really allows a meaning for history. For this reason they accept most of the important Biblical terms. They speak of "an active God," and when referring to time they use the words "creation," "consummation," "Christ event," etc.



However, these **existential** thinkers are required ultimately to deny reality and historicity in these events, since they reject the miraculous, and even accept radical historical criticism. They believe that such events as Christ, creation, and the judgment should be taken "seriously, but not literally," and are therefore to be **mythologically** interpreted. Since they do not accept these important single-events as being actually historical, we are forced to say that the New-Orthodox also, actually have no meaning for history.

The average American citizen is either under the Biblical, Liberal, or New-Orthodox view of time or some combination of them. Most Protestants are simply confused. However, most of us realize that we will have only our "three score years and ten" to make our mark, and we therefore make it a point to try to make our own personal history meaningful. It seems, therefore, that the Biblical view is still the dominant philosophy of time to the average American, and perhaps is the basic reason for our national "efficiency."

Whereas the Liberal view was influenced by Hegel's "dialectical idealism," we find that Karl Marx was influenced also by Hegel, but he rather holds to a "dialectical materialism," which means that he feels that the dialectic tensions between the capital and labor



Marxist view

groups in society will eventually be resolved by an "economic determinism." Thus the Communist also has a straight-line view of history, very much like that of Liberal theology, in that there is no miracle or supernatural activity whatever.

There is no place for a creation, for the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, or for a final consummation. Single events are not significant, and there is no meaning for history. They, like the Liberals, are expecting an ultimate Utopia which is certain to come in the future and will be resolved into the ideal Communist state. Since there is no real meaning for time or history to the Communist, this can perhaps explain why the Communist people were in no hurry in Korea, while our American soldiers were fretting about the fact that an important part of their lives was being "wasted."

If we can believe the Biblical view of time is correct; if we can say that there was a creation and there will be a consummation and judgment; and if we can accept the Bible teaching that there was a true historical death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, then it behooves all men to recognize the consequent importance of history and the value of time. We should all get busy doing that which is "right in the eyes of Jehovah," as our really serious purpose in life.

Abilene Christian College.

Ministry Of The Word In The First Two Centuries

Everett Ferguson

The ministry of the church may be divided into three phases—the ministry of the Word, of benevolence, and of oversight. One of the specialized meanings of “ministry” (*diakonia*) in the New Testament refers to the dispensing of the gospel. Although some overlapping of functions occurs, the topic of this study is as follows: “Who did the preaching and teaching of the Word of the Lord in the early church?”

According to Paul’s description of the church as a “body” in 1 Cor. 12 it is clear that every member was a “minister” (servant) of the whole body. However, the same chapter also demonstrates a place for different types of ministers with their own specialty. Those formally designated for a position of service in the church were spoken of as holding an “office.” Filling an office indicated, not the possession of authority, but rather, designation to perform a work; an office was a function, a responsibility.¹ The evidence shows that any Christian man with the requisite ability and knowledge could speak in the public assembly and teach the gospel to others.² This study is concerned with those who possessed the necessary “gifts” or qualifications and received formal recognition from the church to do the public work of teaching.

In the New Testament there is a two-fold distinction made with reference to ministers—between local officers and those not bound to a local congregation, and between inspired and uninspired teachers. New Testament congregations passed through three stages of growth: (1) A time when they were served by extraordinary (inspired) ministers; (2) a time when a dual ministry of both inspired and uninspired men were the dispensers of the Word; and (3) a time when the uninspired ministry intended to be permanent in the churches existed alone. Since not all congregations passed through these stages at the same time, many have been able to find a basis for arguing that there was no uniformity in the New Testament in regard to the ministry. As an illustration, an untrained observer on viewing an exhibit of the metamorphosis of a butterfly might conclude that the egg, caterpillar, chrysalis, and butterfly were four different species. However, on reading the description he would learn that he was examining four different stages in the life span of the same insect.

The first public ministers of the church possessed **charismata**, “spiritual gifts” supernaturally given. These are named as “apostles, prophets, and teachers” in 1 Cor. 12:28. They were called and equipped for their task by the Lord through the activity of the Holy Spirit, they served the church universal, and they filled an office that did not have to be occupied anew after their death.

Although the word "apostles" had a wider meaning of "one sent on a mission,"³ it had primary reference to the Twelve and Paul⁴ who were distinguished from all others by having a special call from the Lord and by having the gift of plenary inspiration in revealing the will of the Lord to men.⁵ In keeping with their special qualifications, their responsibilities included bearing testimony of Christ, revealing the essential truths of the Plan of Salvation, and enacting all the necessary ordinances for the church.⁶

The New Testament prophets were closely associated with the Apostles in revealing the foundation truths of the gospel.⁷ They not only revealed the counsels and purposes of God, as shown by Eph. 3:4f, but 1 Cor. 14 shows their gift of prophecy also qualifying them to lead in Christian worship, to exhort and edify the church, to unfold the meaning of the oracles of God, and to distinguish the Word of God from the word of men. The point of distinction between the Apostles and prophets appears to have been that the inspiration of the Apostles was abiding,⁸ for they were the infallible and authoritative messengers of Christ; whereas the inspiration of the prophets was occasional and transient.⁹ Neither did the prophets have the "care of all the churches"¹⁰ which the Apostles had. Part of a prophet's work was in his own community¹¹ and part was elsewhere.¹²

Whereas the prophet received revelations of the divine will and gave messages in behalf of another, the teacher was closely associated with him¹³ in making exposition and application to life of the revealed truth. A careful exegesis of 1 Cor. 14:6 shows that he who received a revelation was a prophet and he who had "the word of knowledge" was a teacher.¹⁴ The teacher had a rich background in the Judaism of the first century, for the many "Rabbis" had the practical, personal task of leading individuals to live their lives in full accord with the will of God. The inspired instructors in the faith fulfilled this purpose (*didasko*) both by exhortation in the meeting for edification as seen in 1 Cor. 14:26 and by the class instruction (*katecheo*) envisioned in Gal. 6:6.

Teaching occupied a prominent place in the assemblies of the New Testament church for worship—Acts 2:42¹⁵; 1 Cor. 14; Acts 20:7ff; 13:1f.¹⁶ Instruction took the form of a single discourse or several shorter messages.

Ephesians 4:11 lists the ministers of the church at a time of transition. Here the reference is to the men who were given to the church; in 1 Cor. 12 it is to the functions placed in the church. Those who labored in the ministry of the Word now included evangelists, who served the church universal,¹⁷ and pastors, who served a local church. These were men whose task did not necessarily require a miraculous gift of the Spirit, and thus it is possible to see the preparation made for the time when the church would function without direct guidance from the Spirit. The pastors are to be identified with those elsewhere in Scripture called elders (presbyters) or bishops, as the Greek

of Acts 20:28 and 1 Pet. 5:1ff demonstrates. Very early the Apostles began choosing a college of elders to oversee congregations.¹⁸ As soon as qualified men appeared (sooner in Jewish than in predominantly Gentile churches) they were set apart to form the nucleus of a local ministry to guide the churches once the Apostles were removed from the scene. Likewise, Paul early began to gather around himself men like Timothy and Titus who were trained to continue the work of preaching the gospel. 2 Tim. 4:5 shows that "evangelist" was a technical term for this class of workers in the church. As "bearers of glad tidings" the evangelists were primarily functionaries of the church universal, but in laboring to win new converts they both traveled about or settled for a time in one place.¹⁹

In the letters of 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus there is a description of the last stages of organization through which the churches of Christ passed in New Testament times. This arrangement gave a permanent answer to the needs of the church. At the beginning the functions of oversight, benevolence, and teaching had all been entrusted to the Apostles. These activities were now distributed to bishops, deacons, and evangelists, respectively, but not exclusively or categorically. It was necessary for the continuance of the church that the essential functions of ministry be identified with certain offices. That these offices provide for the necessary activities in the church shows their permanent intention and permanent validity as a form of church organization. Other offices—e.g., that of Apostles and prophets—requiring a special "gift" ceased when that gift ceased.

The New Testament gives indication of a large number of congregations under the supervision of a council of presbyter-bishops.²⁰ The non-canonical literature nearest to the New Testament reveals the same situation.²¹ That Apostles appointed elders in all the churches, gave qualifications for filling this office, and commanded others to appoint qualified men to the position shows that elders were intended to be permanent in the church. The primary task of these workers as shepherds of men's souls demanded that a large share of the ministry of the Word fall on them. Indications of their public teaching role are found in 1 Tim. 3:2; 5:17; Titus 1:9; Acts 20; Eph. 4:11f. Toward the close of New Testament times as the gift of prophecy became less frequent and visits from the missionary ministry less certain, teaching naturally fell more and more to the local leadership.

The evangelistic office likewise exists in the nature of things as long as the church feels the press of the Great Commission. That Paul continued until his death to choose other evangelists and instruct them in the work of preaching further demonstrates that he felt the need of a continuous supply of men prepared for the work of an evangelist.²² The evangelist's work of preaching the gospel included strengthening the faith of those already converted, refuting false doctrine, instructing the church, and organizing congregations.²³ Their task was pre-eminently one of teaching and preaching—reproving, rebuking, and exhorting. They might stay for a time with a

church fully organized (as Timothy at Ephesus), but Titus 3:12f and 2 Tim. 4:10, 12 indicate that apparently Paul saw a value in frequently changing places of labor.

Although bishops and evangelists were the most prominent servants of the Word, the preliminary observations on all Christians as ministers should not be forgotten. Uninspired teachers had a place in the permanent work of the church.²⁴ Moreover, in keeping with the general freedom of Apostolic times, much teaching was done by women.²⁵ However, this teaching was confined to situations where the woman did not assert herself over men, for teaching in the public assembly was specifically denied to women.²⁶

As one moves to the sub-apostolic and second century literature he finds that the significant developments in regard to the ministry involved changes in the organization of the church. Three stages of departure from the New Testament pattern may be outlined: (1) There was first a decline in the universal or missionary ministry leaving the local officers in control of the entire church; (2) almost simultaneously there emerged a single bishop distinguished from the presbytery; and (3) the monarchial bishop's²⁷ position was strengthened to meet the challenges of Gnosticism and Montanism. Several factors, some unintentional and some deliberate, contributed to these changes. Before developing them, a survey should be made of the understanding of the second century church in regard to the functionaries (save elders) already mentioned.

The word "Apostle" continued to have occasional use in its wider meaning, including reference to those who were associates of the Apostles.²⁸ However, its overwhelming usage was limited to the Twelve (including Paul)—e.g. in Clement,²⁹ Ignatius,³⁰ Justin,³¹ and Irenaeus.³² The second century evidence confirms what was found in the New Testament: The Apostolate died with the Twelve and Paul. Some of their functions were regarded by the early church as having been perpetuated in others, but to what was distinctive about them—the gift of authoritative teaching and the special call by Jesus—no one could succeed. No one called a contemporary, not even the bishops who were regarded as successors of the Apostles, by the title "Apostle."

The prophetic order was at its peak in the **Didache**, which on the whole gives a picture of the ministry not unlike that found in the New Testament. The prophet presided at the Lord's Table, was entitled to have his words obeyed, and was the only person privileged to abide within the community without earning his support by his own labor. Since their gift was for the whole church, they might travel or settle as they chose.³³ Ignatius³⁴ and perhaps Hermas³⁵ claimed to have the prophetic gift. But shortly after this time prophecy is recognized by the church as a thing of the past. Although Justin³⁶ and Irenaeus claim that prophets were still present, it was a matter of hearsay with them. The work against Montanism³⁷

which Eusebius quotes under the name of Miltiades from the second century gives a list of those who prophesied under the new covenant. The writer can give no names beyond Ammia of Philadelphia and Quadratus, who at the latest cannot be placed after the first quarter of the second century.³⁸ "Prophets" as a class would not have been so regularly used without qualification referring to those of the Old Testament if prophets were a common thing in the writer's own day. Unlike the New Testament usage, when Christian prophets are referred to it is always with some specifying expression. Moreover, the polemic of the church against Montanism's attempt to revive prophecy proceeded on the tacit assumption of the extinction of the prophets. (Likewise the frenzied type prophecy of Montanus was considered false because it did not correspond to the rule of Paul in 1 Cor. 14:32.³⁹)

In the second century literature teachers do not appear as inspired men (e.g. in *Didache* they did not have to be tested whether they spoke in the Spirit). A large number of them are favorably mentioned as traveling from place to place, instructing the faithful and preaching to new converts.⁴⁰ Most notable of these was Justin Martyr who included within his activities the establishment of a Christian school similar to the numerous contemporary ones of philosophy.⁴¹ Teachers maintained their position longer than any other group not included within the local organization of a congregation. At Alexandria the institution of teachers survived the longest side by side with the episcopal organization of the churches.⁴² The life of Origen (the most illustrious figure of the Catechetical school at Alexandria) was the unsuccessful, final struggle of a free "Teacher of the Word" to keep the ministry of the Word from being completely submerged under episcopal domination.

After the New Testament a complete black-out hangs over the word "evangelist," until the writings of Tertullian, and his references to the word are not helpful in telling the place of the evangelist in the second century.⁴³ Eusebius mentions evangelists a number of times as carrying on the activities associated with this class of men in the New Testament, but he is sufficiently vague to indicate that his was not first-hand knowledge.⁴⁴ Many of those called teachers also sound like evangelists, to that it is possible that there was a progressive convergence of these terms in the second century.⁴⁵

The Apostles had sought to give the church a strong local organization. In the years overlapping the end of the first and the beginning of the second century the church went too far in this direction, at the expense of the missionary ministry. Schismatical and heretical tendencies threatened the church;⁴⁶ domestic factions had appeared;⁴⁷ and even the presbyters in some cases were falling away.⁴⁸ The most serious problem came from the large number of false teachers who were spreading their doctrines under the guise of the revered prophets and evangelists. First John 4:1-6 from the New Testament shows the need for the test since many false prophets

had gone out into the world. The **Didache** and Hermas apply more elaborate tests. This fact alone is evidence of the real challenge from false prophets. The church took two steps to meet this challenge. One is reflected in the **Didache**: The local ministry assumed the place of the prophetic ministry. Every inducement was given to prophets to settle down, and apparently many did.⁴⁹ The many false teachers in time caused the whole itinerant ministry to fall into disrepute. No doubt one reason that the church was having so much trouble from false prophets was the fact that the true prophets were beginning to disappear. It appears from the literature's silence that evangelists and teachers had either joined the trend to settle locally or were devoting themselves entirely to laboring in new fields. The **Didache** is significant for the future in representing the honor of the ministry of the Word being transferred to the local officers.⁵⁰ The congregations looked to those local leaders whom they knew from permanent residence (and in many cases were of apostolic appointment) for sound doctrine. Coinciding with this development was a move in the direction of good order by an insistence on obedience to the local ministry. This is the theme of Clement's epistle.⁵¹ However correct may have been his insistence on obedience in the particular situation at Corinth, the letter represents a type of thinking that was later to make office-bearers actually "generals" and "priests" instead of shepherds of men's souls, and thus there is the beginning of an "institutional" idea of the church.

The next stage through which the ministry of the early church passed was marked by the rise of the monarchial bishop beginning in the early second century. The first step in this process was the beginning of a differentiation of function within the local presbyteries. This may be reflected in some passages in Hermas⁵² and would have involved the regular assigning of certain duties to one of the presbyters who was the "overseer" (*episkopos*) of this work. The next step was the full recognition of one man in each congregation as the "bishop" with this name exclusively his. This is the situation in Asia Minor reflected in the letters of Ignatius, the early church's leading proponent of mon-episcopacy. This statement in his epistle to the Smyrneans, section VIII, is typical: "See that you all follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ follows the Father, and the presbytery as if it were the Apostles. And reverence the deacons as the command of God." Ignatius saw the bishop as a necessary symbol of unity in a church threatened by division; for him an office does constitute the church and is necessary for its existence.⁵³ There has been a mistaken tendency to read into Ignatius the whole episcopal organization of the fourth century. However, the bishop is not yet a distinct order; he is chief of (and not over) the presbyters, a "chairman of the board" as it were whose position was bound up with that of the other office-bearers.⁵⁴ The church followed the advice of this fiery preacher as to the way to face its problems posed by persecution from without and false teaching from within. By the mid-

century the monarchial bishop was a general feature of the church throughout the Empire. The writings of Hegesippus, Irenaeus, and Tertullian make this certain. It is likely that the "president" of the assembly who preaches the sermon and has charge of alms, in Justin's description of a worship service,⁵⁵ is such a proto-bishop.

The evidence shows that the later bishop was connected with two lines of ancestry—the presbyterial and the apostolic, the former from which he came and the latter whose position he assumed. The second century bishop had two outstanding characteristics—the right of ordination and the right of giving authoritative teaching.⁵⁶ These had been the functions respectively of Apostles and evangelists, and of Apostles and other inspired men. Although the bishop assumed the duties of Apostolic men, the sources point to his having arisen out of the body of presbyters. Irenaeus regularly calls bishops by the name "presbyter."⁵⁷ Bishops for some time were regularly chosen from the presbytery and save for ordination the duties of the two largely remained the same.⁵⁸ Putting the evidence together mon-episcopacy may be connected with the virtual disappearance of evangelists as separate workers in established churches in that wherever the Ignatian type of presbytery prevailed, the local presbytery had itself produced a personal organ with which the evangelist's functions could be combined. When the evangelists, prophets, and others of the universal ministry began to lose prominence or fall under suspicion because of the traveling false teachers, it was natural that much of the prestige they held and many of their duties would have gone to the newly developed bishop. A local man was a better guarantee of correct teaching than the wandering ministers with no certain credentials. By its adaptability to the new situation it is understandable that mon-episcopacy should have carried the day. Although several factors no doubt contributed to the distinguishing of one man as the bishop, a prominent one would have been the choice of the best qualified man to handle the public teaching. This would fit naturally into the future development that made the bishop's chair "the symbol of teaching."⁵⁹

The final stage of this development was reached at the close of the second century when the position of the single bishop over each church was greatly strengthened by the doctrine of apostolic succession. Once again the change was related to a reaction against a serious problem. The second century was the setting for two great struggles of the church—with Gnosticism⁶⁰ and with Montanism. The Gnostic teachers advanced the claim to have received a secret tradition of more authentic Christianity handed down from the Apostles through a succession of private teachers. Irenaeus gave the counter-claim of those who were orthodox in doctrine.⁶¹ He emphasized the "succession" of the bishops in the churches founded by Apostles as official and authoritative teachers of the true doctrine. Each of these bishops had in turn taken over from his predecessor the same **cathedra** (chair) to impart from it the same teaching. The

stability of the doctrine of the bishops in a church was guaranteed by its publicity; its correctness was guaranteed by its consent with the teaching given from the "teacher's chairs" of all other churches. This standard of orthodoxy could be used to supersede an appeal to Scripture, as it was by Tertullian.⁶² Apostolic succession at first was from "holder to holder" of the office, not from consecrator to consecrated as it became. With this doctrine it is clear that the bishop now constituted a separate order. He was over the presbyters and was not dependent on them for his position. When Irenaeus wrote, the doctrine of apostolic succession of bishops was concerned solely with the bishop's qualification to act as an authoritative teacher. Teaching seems to have become less and less the duty of presbyters.

Montanism arose as a protest against the growing ecclesiasticism and accommodation of the church to the world. It saw in the recovery of prophecy the way to recover the primitive purity of the church. The church catholic, however, reacted against the extremes of Montanism and went further in the direction of institutionalizing the church. The bishop's position was further enhanced. Having begun as a teacher, he had become a successor to the Apostles over against Gnosticism, and now over against Montanism he became a successor to the prophet. The chief significance of this controversy for this study is seen in the fact that the gift of the Spirit was now regarded as the bishop's official (although not personal) possession. Position now validated one's preaching.⁶³

All three functions of the ministry—oversight, benevolence, and teaching—were once more centered in the control of one official, contrary to the design of Apostolic ordinance.⁶⁴

Footnotes

¹¹ Tim. 3:1; Rom. 12:4.

²Acts 8:4; Rom. 12:6ff; 15:4; Phil. 1:14; Heb. 5:12.

³2 Cor. 8:23; Acts 14:14.

⁴Acts 6:2, 6; Rev. 21:14; Gal. 1; 2.

⁵Luke 6:18; Gal. 1:1; John 16:13; Gal. 1:11f.

⁶Acts 4:33; 2 Cor. 5:18ff; Matt. 19:28; 18:18.

⁷Eph. 2:20.

⁸John 20:21f.

⁹1 Cor. 14:30.

¹⁰2 Cor. 11:28.

¹¹1 Cor. 14.

¹²Cf. Agabus.

¹³Acts 13:1.

¹⁴Cf. Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (International Critical Commentary; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), p. 308.

¹⁵Most lexicons take "teaching" in this verse as active, so that it may be paraphrased "They gave steadfast attention to the teaching of the Apostles." Cf. a similar translation by F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1897), p. 44.

¹⁶The *leitourgia* of this verse on the analogy of Rom. 15:16 would include teaching.

¹⁷I.e., their office was not bound to a local congregation; in this respect they were like the Apostles and prophets. Such phrases as "universal ministry" and "missionary ministry" have been used to express this concept although it is realized that they are not wholly adequate terms.

The list of officers may be grouped as follows: Apostles and prophets from one category in 2:20 (as the organs for the revelation of Christ's will they constituted the foundation of the church—personal successors for them were no more needed than a successor was needed for Christ as the cornerstone); evangelists found their place in enlarging the church through the making and strengthening of new converts; pastors and teacher as local instructors are grouped in one category in 4:11.

¹⁸Acts 11:30; 14:23; 15:6.

¹⁹Cf. Philip who did both—Acts 8 and 21:8.

²⁰Acts 15:6; 11:30; 14:23; Acts 20:17, 28 and 1 Tim. 3; Phil. 1:1; Titus 1:5-7; James 1:1 and 5:14; 1 Peter 1:1 and 5:1ff.

²¹*Didache* XV:1. "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" is a manual of church life, organization, and institutions originating probably in Syria and widely influential in the early centuries of the church. Its view of the ministry definitely suggests a date not far from the turn of the century.

²²Clement 42:4. First Clement is a letter from the church at Rome written by Clement to the church in Corinth about A.D. 96 or 97.

Hermas, *Vis.* III:v. 1. "The Shepherd of Hermas" is a lengthy collection of Visions, Mandates, and Similitudes written by an otherwise unknown member of the Roman church named Hermas. The sections on the ministry would fit a date about A.D. 110 for this queer collection.

²³Cf. 2 Tim. 2:2 where Paul has Timothy's equals in mind.

²⁴Tim. 1:5ff; 4:6; Titus 1:5; etc.

²⁵James 3:1.

²⁶Titus 2:3f; 1 Cor. 11:5; Acts 21:9.

²⁷Cor. 14:34ff; 1 Tim. 2:12.

²⁸The term "monarchical bishop" refers to the situation where one bishop emerged at the head of a single congregation. "Mon-episcopacy" is also used in the same sense in this article.

²⁹Clement of Alexandria, head of the catechetical school in that city at the close of the second century, so uses the word in *Strom.* IV:17.

³⁰I Clement XLIV.

³¹*Tral.* III:1. Ignatius was "bishop" of Antioch who wrote seven letters while being carried across Asia Minor on his way to martyrdom in Rome about 117.

³²*Apol.* I xxxix; xl ix; *Dial.* XLII. Justin wrote at the middle of the second century an Apology to the Emperor and a Dialogue with the Jew Trypho.

³³*Adv. Haer.* II:xxi; II:i; IV:xxiiif. Irenaeus was first presbyter and then bishop of Lyons in Gaul. About 180 he wrote his great work against the heresy of Gnosticism.

³⁴*Did.* XI, XIII.

³⁵*Philad.* VII:1.

³⁶*Mand.* XII:iii:3.

³⁷*Dial.* LXXXII.

³⁸In the last quarter of the second century Montanus claimed to have received the Holy Spirit and sought to purify the church by a revival of prophecy.

³⁸H. E. V:xvii:2. Eusebius of Caesarea wrote a Church History about 325 valuable for the fragments of earlier literature which it preserves.

³⁹H. E. V:xvi:7.

⁴⁰Dial. LXXXII: *Contra Cels.* III:ix. The latter is an apology written by Origen, active in the early third century and the most learned man in the ancient church.

⁴¹*Acts of Justin.*

⁴²*Contra Cels.* IV:lxxii.

⁴³*De Praesc.* IV; *De Corona* IX. Tertullian was a prolific writer in Latin both as a presbyter at Carthage and later as a Montanist.

⁴⁴H. E. II:iii:1f; III:xxxvii; V:x:2.

⁴⁵This view is suggested by J. Massie, "Evangelist," *A Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. by James Hastings; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), I:797.

⁴⁶Revelation and the letters of Ignatius.

⁴⁷Clement and Ignatius to the Philadelphians.

⁴⁸Polycarp (early second century bishop of Smyrna) to the Philippians.

⁴⁹*Did.* XIII.

⁵⁰"Appoint therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord . . . for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Therefore do not despise them, for they are your honorable men together with the prophets and teachers." XV:1f.

⁵¹"The Apostles . . . preached from district to district, and from city to city, and they appointed their first converts, testing them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons of the future believers. . . They appointed those who have been mentioned, and afterwards added the codicil that if they should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministry. We consider therefore that it is not just to remove from their ministry those who were appointed by them, or later on by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered to the flock of Christ without blame." XLIV. Cf. LIV and LVII.

⁵²*Vis.* II:iv:2f; II:v:1; *Sim.* IX:xxvii:1f; VIII:vii:4.

⁵³*Tral.* III:1; *Eph.* IV:1; *Mag.* VII:1.

⁵⁴*Eph.* I, II, XIII:7; *Mag.* II, XI; *Philad.* XI, X, *Smyrn.* IV, XI.

⁵⁵*Apol.* I:1xvii.

⁵⁶Cf. the *Refutation of All Heresies* I:Pref. and *Apostolic Tradition* I:9 both by Hippolytus, early third century schismatic bishop of Rome who gives much information on the organization of the church in the second century.

⁵⁷*Adv. Haer.* II:ii:4; *Ep. ad Florin* in H. E. V:xx:7.

⁵⁸Another influence toward mon-episcopacy may have come from the settlement of some prophet or evangelist in a given community. An indication that perhaps not all bishops arose out of the presbytery may be seen in this statement by Origen: "Consider . . . how in some towns where as yet there are no Christians, someone arrives, and begins to teach, works, instructs, leads to the faith, and finally becomes the ruler and bishop of his pupils." *Hom. on Num.* 11:4.

⁵⁹Irenaeus' term in the *Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching*, II.

⁶⁰Gnosticism is a term for a number of different syncretistic religious philosophies which had some fundamental ideas in common. These included a belief that matter was intrinsically evil, the world was created by an evil Demiurge and not by the Father, and the aim of true religion is to bring deliverance of the spirit from the body.

⁶¹*Adv. Haer.* III.

⁶²*Praes.* XV, XXI.

⁶³*Adv. Haer.* IV:xxvi:2; II:xxiv:1; *Praes.* XXXVIII.

⁶⁴Cf. the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus.

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Tolbert Fanning

A. R. Holton

Tolbert Fanning was born May 10, 1810, in Cannon County, Tennessee. It is interesting to note what was happening in our country in that year. James Madison was president of the United States. Napoleon was at the height of his power in Europe and within two years we would have a war with England which is known as the War of 1812. Abraham Lincoln was just a year older than Tolbert Fanning. The vast territory to the west was just beginning to open. Clay and Calhoun and Webster were in the Congress of the United States. Many people were talking about the new invention by Robert Fulton. The Erie Canal was a great prospect of rapid transportation. Somehow the world was not secure then even as it is not secure now.

In the years to follow the birth of Tolbert Fanning our war with Mexico was to come, and our Civil War with all of its tragedy was to be enacted within his lifetime. Perhaps one of the busiest periods of Fanning's life was in the period of reconstruction following the Civil War, up until his death in 1873.

Over against the tragedy of the Civil War, Fanning had launched an educational venture. This educational venture was known as Franklin College, whose buildings were burned at about the time of the close of the Civil War. There had also been launched in this period a publication known as the *Gospel Advocate*. As it was in the case of Moses, great and stirring events were taking place outside the church and outside his chosen field of education. Perhaps there was no man in the South more aware of what was happening than was Tolbert Fanning, a man who understood the needs and problems of the South as well as any man who has lived there. His boyhood days were spent on a plantation in Alabama. He came to Nashville, Tennessee, to attend school at the University of Nashville where he graduated. It was his ambition to establish a college of his own. The scene of his first educational venture in Tennessee was at Franklin, Tennessee. He had a profound influence upon three people who were to greatly influence the restoration movement in the years to come. These three were D. L. Lipscomb, E. G. Sewell, and T. B. Larimore. The contribution of Tolbert Fanning to the restoration movement is thereby tremendous. The tide of the restoration movement took a turn in Tennessee which was not duplicated elsewhere in the country.

The one point of emphasis made by Tolbert Fanning was that the church was the great instrument by which and through which the cause of Christ was to be spread over the whole earth. This emphasis was given by Fanning even though he was the editor of a paper and president of a college. It was his firm belief that in edit-

ing the paper he was helping to further the standing of the church. He felt also that in the school work at Franklin College he was lending aid to the cause of Christ. He believed that leaders in the church needed education and training. He believed that the press was an effective aid in the spread of the gospel. There was no conflict of cross purpose in his life. He never felt that he was disloyal to the church because he ran a school or published a paper.

From 1845 to his death in 1873, Tolbert Fanning was Tennessee's first citizen. Education at Franklin College was on a broad basis. It involved agriculture. It involved livestock raising. It involved the basic foundations for all the professions. It was an education that involved the whole of man and was designed to fit one for responsibilities and duties in all walks of life. This, therefore, meant that Tolbert Fanning was recognized in Tennessee as the founder of scientific agriculture and livestock raising in the State of Tennessee. He published the first paper devoted to these basic industries.

In his work he was preacher, editor, and teacher. In all three fields he was looked upon with great admiration. His former students knew him as one of the most eloquent preachers of the restoration movement. They knew him as one of the most fruitful teachers of his generation. They knew him as one of the most incisive and cleanest writers of his day. His editorials in the **Gospel Advocate** are gems of pure English.

His emphasis on the church and its work prevented the growth and development of missionary societies in the South. His emphasis on the church made it possible for great development of leadership. The churches under his influence developed great men for the elder-ship and when the time for testing came, the churches in Tennessee were not swept away by departures from the New Testament order as they were swept away in many parts of the country. It was this influence then that in 1891 brought together one of his graduates, David Lipscomb, and a graduate of Bethany College, James A. Harding, in an educational venture in Nashville, Tennessee. The work thus begun is now David Lipscomb College in Nashville. This college has led, to a great extent, the spread of Christian education and furnished the leadership for many of our schools that sprang up later.

In 1906, the churches of Christ was given a separate place by the Bureau of Census in the United States Census. This separate accounting is mainly due to the fact that through the influence of Tolbert Fanning, just after the Civil War, the churches of Christ were held back from joining missionary societies and from introducing instrumental music in the worship. The churches of Christ today cover the entire United States and many parts of the world. Our missionaries are gradually but surely spreading this cause into all parts of the world. Had it not been for Tolbert Fanning and his influence, the restoration movement would have been dominated entirely by

what we now know as the Disciples of Christ. The churches of Christ as we know them today can be thankful for Tolbert Fanning and the boys that he trained at Franklin College, and for the influence that was set in motion by this great preacher, editor, and teacher.

Fanning was younger than Alexander Campbell, Barton W. Stone and Walter Scott. He was, however, contemporary, and his writings recognized by references in his papers the death of the three of these great leaders. He had traveled as a young man with Alexander Campbell. He had met Walter Scott in Kentucky. He makes mention of the death of Barton W. Stone.

In 1834, just as he was finishing college in Nashville, Tennessee, the restoration movement was just getting a good start. Tolbert Fanning, unlike the other leaders in the restoration movement, never had to unlearn sectarian interpretation of the Bible or the church. He was never anything but a Christian. The influence of the sectarian background of Campbell, Scott, and Stone was never far from their mature and later work, even though they were sincerely endeavoring to follow the New Testament pattern. Tolbert Fanning, from the time he was a boy eighteen years of age, gave his boyhood and young manhood and his mature experience and scholarship to the cause of the church based on the New Testament order. His brilliant contribution to the restoration movement is yet to be fully recognized.

Exegetical Helps . . . The Genitive With Nouns of Action

J. W. Roberts

A common phenomenon in many languages is the use of the possessive or genitive case with a noun implying action, where the possessive noun expresses either the one originating (subjective) or the one receiving (objective) the action implied in the noun. Thus the phrase "the love of God" may imply the proposition (1) "God (subject) loves man," or (2) "Man loves God" (object). If the expression "of God" means the former it is called subjective genitive; if the latter, it is called objective genitive.¹

this construction and urged a special treatment of the subject. The objective genitive especially comes in for much discussion in the grammars and must often be translated by a paraphrase in the English to bring out the idea in the original. Few grammatical usages are more productive for the eager student of the New Covenant than these which are proposed for study in this paper. The meaning of many passages turns upon the decision as to whether the genitive is objective or subjective; actual differences in translations frequently occur because one translator decides that the context (which is the chief ground of decision) favors one point of view while another will take the opposite viewpoint. This writer has noted in teaching beginning Greek that many students have difficulty in comprehending the idea involved. Once learned the distinction is clear and it is a rewarding experience to trace the construction through the different Biblical writers.

It should be noted in the beginning that the noun on which the genitive depends is a noun of action, that is, it is a noun which implies a verbal idea of **doing** whatever is contained in the word. Such nouns as "work," "love," "fear," or "preaching" are good examples and, of course, imply the verbs corresponding to them. When John said (20:9), "the doors were shut where the disciples were on account of the fear of the Jews" he affirms that someone was afraid and that that fear had caused the doors to be shut. The questions of exegesis arise: "Who was afraid?" and "Who was feared?" Two possibilities are present: either (1) the Jews were afraid of the disciples and had shut the door to the place where they were gathered because of this fear, in which case the words in the genitive ("of the Jews") is subjective, or (2) the disciples were afraid of the Jews and so had shut the doors in view of their safety, in which case the words "of the Jews" are objective. In one interpretation the Jews

¹Abbott, Edwin A., *Johannine Grammar* (London: Adams and Charles Black, 1906) p. 84.

Buttman² long ago called attention to the difficulty involved in

²Buttmann, Alexander, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1891), pp. 154f.

are the subject of (the ones doing) the fearing; in the other they are the ones being feared. It is obvious in the context that the genitive is objective: the disciples shut the door because they were afraid of the Jews. Compare John 7:13, "Now no one spoke openly about him on account of the fear of the Jews."

A few examples of each type which seem unquestionable will help to illustrate both the wealth of expression and the ideas inherent in these constructions.

The Subjective Genitive

The subjective genitive differs little from the possessive. Indeed Moule says³ that it "merges indistinguishably into the possessive genitive." In 1 John 2:16 **he epithumia tes sarkos** "the lust of the flesh" the genitive is subjective being equal to the words **he sarks eipthumei** "the flesh lusteth" (Gal. 5:17). In 1 Tim. 4:1 the expression "teachings of demons" undoubtedly is subjective meaning the teaching originated by demons and not (objective) the teachings about demons. So Easton interprets, "Deluded men would not only give heed to perverted doctrines, but would listen credulously to the utterances of prophets inspired by evil spirits" (1 Cor. 12:3; 1 John 4:1-3).⁴ The term "the righteousness of faith" (Rom. 4:13) is further explained by Paul as **he ek pisteos dikaiosune** "the out-of-faith righteousness" (Rom. 9:30) and again "the righteousness which is through faith" (Phil. 3:9) and is probably subjective. In Romans 1:17 "a righteousness of God," according to Robertson,⁵ is "the righteousness which God has and wishes to bestow on us (through the gospel)." Bauer defines it in these passages as the righteousness bestowed by God.⁶ "The obedience of one" (Rom. 5:19; i.e., of Christ) is subjective (compare Heb. 5:8), as is the "obedience of you all" (2 Cor. 7:15; 10:6; Phile. 21), the "obedience of the nations" (Rom. 15:18).

The preacher who is looking for an idea for a sermon may find it in Paul's three subjective genitives in 1 Thess. 1:3, "the work of faith," "the labor of love," and "the patience of hope." Here we have as Blass-Debruner observes "the enduring or patient hope" beside the "acting faith" (Cf. Rom. 5:6) and the "labouring love." One of my teachers used to say: "Faith energizes; love motivates, and hope stabilizes."

One might consider also: "dangers of rivers" and "dangers of robbers" (2 Cor. 11:26); "comforts of scriptures" (Rom. 15:4); "hope

³Moule, C. F. D., *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 1953) p. 40.

⁴Easton, Burton Scott, *The Pastoral Epistles* (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1947).

⁵Robertson, A. T., *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Boardman, 1934), p. 499.

⁶Bauer, Walter, *Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, (Berlin: Alfred Toepelmann, 1952).

of the Gospel" (Col. 1:23). If one has trouble in understanding the "preaching of Christ" (Rom. 16:25) which is cited by the grammars as subjective, he should remember that "preaching" here is a noun (*kerugma*) which refers to the substance as distinct from the act which would be expressed by *keruksis*.⁷ Abbott-Smith takes this passage as objective, however. "The preaching of me" (1 Cor. 2:4) and "of us" (Ibid. 15:14) are certainly subjective.

The Objective Genitive

The objective genitive is much more unique and requires careful exegesis. Let us consider some of the more obvious examples: In Matt. 12:31 "the blasphemy of the Holy Spirit" is obviously objective, as the Holy Spirit is the object of blasphemy by the enemies of Jesus. "A good deed of an impotent man" (Acts 4:9) is correctly translated as objective: "a good deed done (by Peter and John) to an impotent man." "Taking wages for the ministry of you" is rightly interpreted: "taking wages that I might minister unto you" (2 Cor. 11:8). Such expressions as "authority of all flesh" (John 17:2), "authority of unclean spirits" (Matt. 10:1) and "the authority of you" (1 Cor. 9:12), are correctly understood as meaning authority over these things. He was "in the prayer of God" means "prayer to God" (Luke 6:12). "Fear of God" (Rom. 3:18), "Fear of the Lord" (2 Cor. 5:11) and "in the fear of Christ" (Eph. 5:21) all express the object of fear, not the subject. "Teachings of baptisms" (Heb. 6:2) means "teachings about baptisms." In 1 Cor. 8:7 "to eat in the conscience of the idol" means to eat in the consciousness of the idol's existence. With this compare 1 Pet. 2:19 "through conscience of God"; i.e., "a conscience toward God." The "reproach of Christ" (Heb. 11:26) is that heaped upon Christ; while the "zeal of God" (Rom. 10:2) is zeal for or toward God.

How To Translate

It will be observed that the translation of many of the above phrases is quite unlike the simple genitive or possessive idea. The change of construction is often necessary to bring out the objective idea. Blass-Debrunner observes that many times the objective genitive stands beside a transitive verb and its object. They cite such parallels as: Rom. 10:2 "a zeal of God" beside *Zeloun tina* "to be zealous of something" (Gal. 4:17); compare 2 Cor. 11:2. 1 Cor. 1:6 "the testimony of Christ" stands over against "testifying Jesus to be the Christ" (Acts 18:5). Various expressions utilizing the expression "the gospel of," e.g., the gospel "of the kingdom" (Matt. 4:23) may be compared with "evangelizing the kingdom" (Luke 8:1) or preaching Christ Jesus (Acts 5:42).

Again the genitive has the appearance of the Greek dative case: Rom. 3:22 "faith of Jesus" is equal to "believing in Jesus Christ";

⁷Abbott-Smith. G.. *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh, T. S. T. Clark, 1937).

compare "faith eis" (Acts 20:21) and "believing in (en) Christ" (1 Tim. 3:13). In those places where the "obedience" is followed by an objective genitive ("the obedience of Christ," 2 Cor. 10:5; "the obedience of truth," 1 Pet. 1:22) one might compare "they were becoming obedient to the faith" (Acts 6:7), where the noun is in the dative.

Moule⁸ notes that in English we tend to use the inflectional genitive for the subjective idea (e.g., "Mankind's thoughts—The thoughts which mankind thinks") and to reserve the "prepositional" genitive for the objective (e.g. "thoughts of mankind"—the thoughts in which we ponder mankind.) This distinction is not invariable though.

On the ambiguity of some of these genitives Buttman once remarked

that exegetes, especially where dogmatic interests come in, differ very much in interpreting a Genitive, whether as subjective or objective; and yet the settlement of the matter is properly left to them, because grammar, from its point of view, must concede in most cases the possibility of both opinions; Cf. Winer 186 (175). As the subject, however, is one of weighty importance for the understanding of Scriptures, and the decision in all disputed cases necessarily presumes thorough investigation of the usage of individual writers, exposition of the internal connection in every passage, comparison of parallel expressions, and the like, it well deserves a separate and systematic treatment of its own.⁹

Thus it is seen that it is often difficult to determine which idea the writer means to express. As has been said, only the context can determine which point of view is intended. Doctrinal prejudice may, as Buttman observed, affect the viewpoint of the interpreter. Buttmann's suggestion that experience in working with an author's idiom is well taken; that comparison of similar phrases in works of similar nature is invaluable has been demonstrated above. Still the commentators and translators differ widely in some places. This is because in some cases the construction represents real amphibologia—expressions capable of double meanings.

Amphibologia

Recently a question was sent this writer in which he was asked which translation was according to the Greek of 2 Tim. 1:12. This verse says, "I am persuaded that he is able to keep what I have committed unto him against that day" In the King James and American Standard Edition of the Revised Version. In the new Revised Standard Version the verse reads, "He is able to keep what he has committed to me against that day." I replied that the Greek says neither; it merely says "he is able to keep the commitment of me

⁸Moule, *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁹Buttman, *Ibid.*, p. 154f.

against that day." The different translations reflect the decisions of the translators as to whether the genitive is subjective or objective. The weight of opinion among the commentators favors the objective ("what he has committed unto me") interpretation. So Simpson,¹⁰ Easton, Gealy,¹¹ and Lenski.

The genitives with the word *agape* "love" have been much discussed. It is generally conceded that they are usually subjective. Abbott has a lengthy discussion on the question and concludes that there are only two passages in the N. T. where the construction is objective. These are 2 Thess. 2:10 "the love of the truth" and Luke 11:42 "ye neglect the love of God." He regards all others as subjective, especially "love of God" and "of Christ."¹² Robertson thinks John 5:42 "Ye do not have the love of God in yourselves" will make equally good sense taken either way, but cites Rom. 5:5 as a possible parallel where the love of God is said to have been shed out into our hearts, a subjective idea.¹³ Moule thinks that 2 Cor. 5:14 "The love of Christ constrains us" may well be taken as objective.¹⁴ On this verse the commentators differ widely.

Another difficult problem is the "worship of angels" in Col. 2:18. This is usually taken to mean that the leaders of the rising cult of gnosticism taught that angels were to be reverenced or worshipped. Winer-Moulton say that the objective is preferable and cite mentions of angel worship from Eusebius (H. E. 6:41) and Philo. (11: 259) as well as the comparable *he tou theou latreia* from Plato (*Apol.* 232). Lenski takes an opposite view. He questions the historicity of worship paid to good angels by the Judaizers. He contends that *en tapeinophrosune kai thraskeia*, "with lowliness and worship," since they have only one preposition, are to be taken together. He thinks Paul means that "the angel's lowliness with which they bring worship to God" had been set by the Judaizers as the standard for the worship of Christians and that in this way they threatened to rob the Christians of their rightful prize or crown.¹⁵

The phrase "fellowship of the Holy Spirit" in the doxology of Paul (2 Cor. 13:13) has been much discussed. Plummer in the **Cambridge Greek Testament** says that all three genitives in the passage make good sense as subjectives. The fellowship of the Holy Spirit would then be "the true sense of membership which the One Spirit gives to the One Body" (quoting J. A. Robinson in Hastings DB. 1. p. 460).

¹⁰Simpson, B. K., *The Pastoral Epistles* (Cambridge: University Press, 1954).

¹¹Gealy, Fred D., *Interpreter's Bible* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1955) Vol. XI.

¹²Abbott, Edwin A., *op. cit.*, pp. 84-89.

¹³Robertson, A. T., *op. cit.*

"of Christ constrains us" may well be taken as objective.¹⁴ On this

¹⁴Moule, C. F. D., *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁵Lenski, R. C. H., *The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians, to the Thessalonians, to Timothy, to Titus and to Philemon.* (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946).

Plummer also thinks that this interpretation is the best sense in some cases. Phil. 2:1 in the subjective sense would mean "If there be any Spirit-given sense of fellowship." The objective interpretation (preferred by Lightfoot¹⁶) would mean "if there is any communion with the Spirit." Lightfoot is quite confident of the objective genitive in Philemon 6.

While the phrase "gospel of someone" has already been shown to be subjective in such phrases as "my gospel" and "our gospel," it is not always subjective. "The gospel of God" is debatable (Rom. 1:3) although "concerning his son" in the following verse favors the subjective idea. The "gospel of Jesus Christ" (Mark 1:1) certainly is the good news about Jesus Christ.¹⁷ The phrase "gospel of the circumcision" (Gal. 2:7) is equivalent to "among" or "to" the circumcision and is similar to *euangelizesthai tina* "to preach the gospel to someone." Meyer says the genitive with the word gospel is always objective when it does not denote a person.

The list of passages for possible discussion is practically endless. Enough has been cited to illustrate the scope and difficulty of the problem involved in this construction and to indicate the means at our disposal in interpreting it.

Students who wish to pursue the matter further may consider the following among the many illustrations of this construction which will be found in his N. T.:

"Have faith of God" (Mark 11:22); "these things are types of us" (1 Cor. 10:6); "the sign of Jonah" (Luke 11:29); "looking for the consolation of Israel" (Luke 2:25); "the zeal of the house" (John 2:17; "the word of the cross" (1 Cor. 1:18); "patience of good work" (Rom. 2:7); "resurrection of life" (John 5:29); "the peace of God" (Phil. 4:7); "the removal of Babylon" (Matt. 1:11f); "the shadow of turning" (Jas. 1:17); "faith of truth" (2 Thess. 2:13); "the proof of you" (2 Cor. 2:9); "the promise of life" (1 Tim. 4:8); "ransoming of transgressions" (Heb. 9:15) and "purification of sins" (Heb. 1:3).

¹⁶Lightfoot, J. B., *Epistles of St. Paul, Colossians and Philemon* (New York: MacMillan, 1892).

¹⁷Robertson, A. T., *Word Pictures* (New York: Harpers, 1930).

The Old Testament And Archeology

John A. Scott

Prospectus

It is surprising that many of our brethren in taking the position that the New Covenant is alone valuable for us today, relegate the Old Testament study, sermons, lessons, etc., to the background. As a book of antiquity with laws binding only on the ancient Israelites, it is "no longer of great concern to us." With but a moment's thought we are reminded that these things "were written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the ages are come" (1 Cor. 10:11). Furthermore, nearly every book and recorded sermon in the New refers back to the Old. Indeed, it is impossible to understand adequately the Christian system without some knowledge from the Old Testament.

It must be recognized that the roots of doubt and skepticism frequently originate in the field of Old Testament. Genesis is considered unscientific in its record of origins. The authenticity of the historical records is challenged in some circles. Questions arise concerning dating, ages, authorship, consistency, etc. For example, if someone has found that the record of Genesis 1 does not agree with his high school science textbook, or if he cannot figure out who helped Noah get all those animals in the Ark, he is ready to discard the Bible. If he discards the Bible, he discards Christianity. Accepting his sincerity, we acknowledge that his problem originated in the Old Testament study—or lack of it.

It shall be my purpose, the Lord willing, in following articles to discuss many phases of Old Testament study, particularly with regard to Archaeology, and Textual and Historical Criticism.

Archaeology

Archaeology is a loaded word. To some it calls to mind the professor with a bone in one hand, a pick in the other and a goatee on his chin. The romance of digging for relics is magnified by newspaper accounts as glowing as gold strikes. In 1927 U. S. newspapers carried vivid reports of the discovery of the "Golden Ark" on Mount Nebo. Later, it was ascertained by a reliable archaeologist that the purported discoverer had visited Nebo once and was so afraid of the Arabs that he did not return.

Books have been written leaving the exaggerated impression that every turn of the spade brings additional "proof" of the inspiration of the Bible, and that anywhere you dig in Palestine or Mesopotamia evidence arises with ease of the Biblical scene. But the drudgery of "breaking" or translating an ancient language or dialect, the tedious hours of sorting and evaluating bits of pottery or scraps of clay tablets are not known. Neither is the fact that at times the "records of

the rocks" produce material which appears to "conflict" with the Bible. Difficulties and problems arise upon interpreting the material found in the process of excavation. Synchronizing dates and rulers with the chronological system of the Bible disseminating from Usher, is another difficult problem.

What Is Archaeology?

"Archaeology" literally means a discourse on old things. It has to do with antiquity. The study and methods having been systematized, it has come into its own rite as one of the newer sciences. Actually it is both a science and an art. It involves the science of measuring and classifying bones. A basic knowledge of kinds of soil and rocks and minerals is implied. But more properly it belongs in the realm of history in that it is a systematic study of the remains of ancient civilizations. In historic times we have the written records of the ancients which involves a study of their language, customs, and laws, but in the pre-historic period our knowledge is based solely on the other remains, such as bones, bits of pottery, utensils, weapons, and remains of dwellings.

Sometimes by pure chance some very valuable find comes to light, like the "Isaiah Scrolls," but this is rare. At other times something is found because of searching for objects of monetary value, like jewelry in a tomb. But most of the time the remains are taken from the dust of the ages by expensive and painstaking methods.

The Method

First, funds must be secured for the enterprise. The amount depends on how much work will be done. Two men may go to a site and sink a test trench in a few months with a minimum of time and laborers. Or a complete staff may go, including a photographer, engineer, archaeologist, paleontologist, epigrapher and stenographer and employ many native workmen for a six-month season each year for several years.

The site is selected with care, considering general accessibility, available labor, distance from supply sources, etc. The land must be purchased or rented and a permit secured from the state department of antiquities. This could involve months and much red tape.

Ancient cities were usually located on a high spot, or tell as the Arabs call them, for purposes of clear view over the surrounding countryside whether for grazing sheep, or travelers, or the approach of enemies. Usually the city was walled with mud bricks, or stone if it was accessible. The dwellings and buildings within were of sun baked brick, consequently they deteriorated quickly when the inhabitants were killed off, taken away captive or moved to a more fertile spot. The next settlers would level off the mound and build on top of the previous settlement so that with the passing of several genera-

tions or several thousand years, layers from different settlements, like a layer cake, accumulated and the mound became higher. (Beth-shan is over 70 feet high.)

Today in excavating one of these mounds where once an ancient city lay, great care must be taken as one digs by hand to take each load of dirt and sift it through a screen to one side from the mound to be sure nothing is missed. Thus layer by layer it is lowered to its original virgin soil. Obviously, the farther down one digs the older the civilization would be which occupied the site. Different nationalities at different ages had their own distinctive designs for pottery or methods of making tools. Once the archaeologist learns the types of pottery for the different ages he can find a small piece of clay pot and tell something about the people who made it. Bones are an excellent means of telling the kind of people who lived at the site at a given time. Animal bones indicate what they ate and what domestic animals they had. The time of the arrival of the camel or horse has played a major role in chronology. The presence of diseases such as arthritis and abscesses in the teeth further reveals life on the passing scene. Figurines of stone or clay and loom-weights and spindle-whorls will indicate how the people looked and what they wore. Hair-pins, rings, eye shadow brushes (wooden), salve-vases, cockle-shells with paint of various colors reveal their beauty aids. For the men fish-hooks, net-sinkers, hoes, plough-shares, sickles and grindstones tell the story of the work-a-day world. Methods of burial reveal something about their religious beliefs. Thus, even in pre-historic times before men wrote, they left their records for the modern student of history.

Naturally, in the process of excavation, detailed records must be kept which reveal in what layer and where on that layer each bit of evidence is found. Some layers are quite deep and have many artifacts and bones, others are very thin and leave only scanty evidence. Charred timbers may reveal a fire or bits of armor and weapons may indicate that it was destroyed in war. The evidence of erosion may indicate that it was abandoned to the weather for many years. A sudden change in population can be ascertained indicating a conquest and resettlement. Drawings of wall positions must be made before they are removed.

In the period since 3000 B.C., there are more and more written records which are much more revealing. First to consider, the language and dialect are important whether Sumerian (non-semitic) or Akkadian (semitic, including Assyrian and Babylonian) or Hittite or one of many other possibilities. Second, the time of its writing and the author, together with the circumstances surrounding it, are instructive. Finally, of course, is the content of the inscription. It may be an exaggerated report from a bragging king, or simply a memento on a bit of clay, a personal letter, a legal document, or a court record.

Interpretation and Evaluation

All of these, and many others, are factors which must be taken into account when studying archaeology or comparing its finds with the Bible. Many finds yield astonishing support of the Biblical record. Others, or at least the interpretations of others, produce apparent conflicts with the supposed meaning of the Bible. Sometimes the traditional interpretation of a passage may prove to be in error as archaeology corrects the commentator. In other instances the archaeological record is corrected by the Bible.

For example: Isaiah 20:1 states that the Tartan of Sargon captured the city of Ashdod. Some of the early higher critics regarded this as a corrupt text because Sargon wasn't known . . . to them. So the critics "corrected" the Bible. Later, Sargon's records came to light and he became quite well known for that time. So archaeology "corrected" the critics. Then this actual record of the battle with Ashdod came to light but stated that Sargon went to Ashdod (not the Tartan). But enough is known of the habit of the kings to take credit for what their commanders did that all the scholars are agreed that the Bible is undoubtedly correct in saying that it was the Tartan who did the dirty work while Sargon took the credit. Thus, in the last analysis, the Bible corrected archaeology.

But in all fairness we must recognize that not every difficulty is answered yet. Some aren't that easy. For example, the inscription of King Mesha on the Moabite Stone does not agree perfectly with 2 Kings 3. Sennacherib's account of the siege of Jerusalem is not precisely in accord with 2 Kings 18, 19. But this does not indicate that the Bible is in error. Although archaeology is relatively precise—in that it views things as they are (or remain)—yet it has its weaknesses.

First, with regard to finding the material at the mound. It is possible to overlook something that makes a great difference in the total picture. This was done at Meroe, in the Sudan, Egypt, some years ago. Dr. Reisner found in an old excavation a number of pyramid tombs which had been overlooked by previous excavators. This proved to be quite revealing with regard to the coming of the Ethiopian Pharaohs in the seventh century B.C. and how they brought in Greek art and culture which influenced the royal house even as late as Candace in the days of Philip, a deacon of Jerusalem. Again, in burying a person, suppose the grave diggers are particularly energetic on this day and bury a person two layers beneath their civilization and the skull of a mongoloid is found with a "mediterranean" setting. If no other indications were found this would produce conflict with regard to the type of people who were living on a given layer.

A piece of pot or a cylinder seal may wash down to a much older level and be deceiving if enough other material is not found to counteract it.

A second source of error is observed in analyzing the written material. War bulletins even in present days are often biased. A stone cutter may make a mistake in his copying. A historian's account may be biased. A king will magnify his deeds in order to glorify himself. more objective than an eye witness report.

A third source of error is in the archaeologist's translation. His copy may be bad or his knowledge necessarily limited. Once a translation is ascertained to be accurate then the interpretation of it may be inaccurate. Too many conclusions may be based on too little information. One must always be ready to distinguish between **fact** and **interpretation** when comparing archaeological material with the Bible. Excavators are human and sometimes have their own biases. But so are Biblical translators, though the margin of error is far greater with the former than the latter, in modern times.

Speaking of modern times and preconceived ideas being so dominant that they bias one, this story comes to light. Some years ago an Illinois farmer, who was a Baptist, got into an argument with his neighbor who was a Methodist Sunday school superintendent on the subject of immersion or sprinkling (bless them)! The Methodist, realizing that the evidence was growing thin for his own case, in a moment of exasperation said that there would be no place in Jerusalem where the multitude at Pentecost could be baptized "by immersion." Not to be outdone for want of evidence to the contrary, the Baptist asked him to look after his farm while he traveled to Jerusalem to see. He was stabbed, robbed, and nearly died of dysentery but he found the Mamilla Pool at Jerusalem which could have held the entire multitude at once. His mission successfully accomplished, he returned with a glowing report. The fact is, that the Mamilla Pool dates from Mediaeval times, but archaeologists agree that there were undoubtedly water reservoirs large enough to do the job even farther back than the time of Christ.

"To seek for the truth, for the sake of knowing the truth,
is one of the noblest objects a man can live for."

—Dean Inge

(To be continued)

Personalia

William Green received his Ph.D. from the University of California, where he is at present Professor in the Department of Classics. Brother Green is an authority on Augustine, and is at present engaged in editing and translating the last volume of Augustine's *City of God* for the Loeb Classical Library. He is also editing a number of treatises by the same author for the Vienna Corpus of the Latin Fathers. He is known in the brotherhood for his articles on various phases of church history. He still finds time to discharge the duties of an elder in the church.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia. By Herman N. Ridderbos. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1953. 238 pp. \$3.50.

This is the third volume (others have appeared since) published in the series: The New International Commentary on the New Testament. The expressed aim of the general editor is to give an interpretation of the text thoroughly abreast of modern research in the field of New Testament study by men who believe the Bible to be the inspired Word of God. Dr. Ridderbos is advertised as Professor in the Theological Seminary at Kampen, The Netherlands. He demonstrates by his commentary that he brings outstanding ability in exegesis and criticism to the task of interpreting this important epistle. The commentary is written from the viewpoint of the Reformed Calvinists, a group which is doing much good work in furthering conservative scholarship.

There is very little devotional emphasis in the commentary. Exposition is the strong point of the book. The main task assumed is the elucidating of the Pauline theme and the development of this theme in the book. The author tries to explain in simple language the message of the epistle. Exegetical notes are excellent but are given in the footnotes so that they will not disturb the exposition for the reader who does not know Greek.

Ridderbos treats the knotty problems of the epistle in a way which is satisfactory, though the scope of the commentary forbids lengthy dissertations. His treatment of the "seed" passage and the allegory of 4:21-31 (often cited as alleged examples of rabbinical interpretations by Paul) are exceptional. He rejects the modern adaptations (Leitzmann, Meyer, Schwarz) of Baur's thesis that a Petrine-Pauline antithesis by which a dialectical reconstruction of the early church may be made lies behind Galatians 2:11ff. The "Israel of God" (6:16) includes "in the widest sense all believers whatsoever, the new people of God."

Paul's teaching of justification by faith apart from the law naturally holds the center of attention, but this thesis is not interpreted (as is so often done) to the denial of the efficacy of baptism. The baptism passage (3:26) is treated fairly in its context.

This series of commentaries is destined to become a valuable tool for the serious student of the New Testament.

J. W. Roberts

Stevenson, Herbert F. **Titles of the Triune God.** Westwood, N. J.: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1956. 190 pp. \$2.50.

These "Studies in Divine Self-Revelation" are designed to fill a gap in doctrinal literature. The writer states in his Introduction, "Numerous books have been written upon **selections** of the divine names, but I have been able to discover none dealing with all the names and titles of the Three Persons of the Trinity."

Mr. Stevenson has not attempted to produce a work for scholars, but for students. While he has entered into the labors of scholars, he has kept in mind the needs of the average reader. A guide to further study is provided by a suggestive bibliography, but the text is not supplied with footnotes to the authors cited. The book is written from a conservative, evangelical viewpoint. And in regard to critical problems (which are not discussed, as outside the scope of the work) it is this position which is assumed.

Paul S. Rees in the foreword has well stated the theme: "The Bible makes no attempt at a definition of God. What it does is to give us a wealthy characterization of God." Dr. Rees adds this statement: "When the reader has laid this volume down, he will be astonished at the number and variety of titles and metaphors through which God's character and activities are made to shine. He will have a vastly enlarged appreciation of the amplexness of God, who is Creator, Redeemer, and Judge."

The 33 chapters of the book are short essays arranged in three groups—the names and titles of God, of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. The names of God are taken up in the order of their appearance in the Old Testament, leading up to the distinctive New Testament name of "Father." This treatment begins with single names of God and moves to combinations of words used as descriptive titles. The special significance of each term is brought out by its use in Scripture. A topical division is followed in regard to the titles applied to Jesus and to the Holy Spirit. This presents a quite useful classification.

The author intends to be as extensive as possible in listing the Divine Names, however the explanation is by its nature far from exhaustive. The treatment does serve to bring out the essential unity of the Biblical revelation. Prophetic names of the Old Testament move into their New Testament fulfillment in the Incarnate Son, and words of common use come to be filled with a deep, sacred content.

Although Mr. Stevenson does not press the points, several interpretations will not find wide favor: his millennial view (p. 87), his acceptance of the "gap theory" on Gen. 1:2 (p. 171), his interpretation of the "Angel of Jehovah" as pre-Incarnation appearances of Christ (p. 101), and his reference to Gen. 6:2 to illustrate the expression "sons of God" meaning "angels" (p. 123). Again the author rather inconsistently applies 1 Tim. 6:15 in one place to Christ (p. 119) and 1 Tim. 6:16f to God in another (p. 167).

Titles of the Triune God will be useful to many people—as a homiletical source for the preacher, as a devotional guide to the average reader, and as an introduction to the subject for the student. This book may well find its way on to the reading lists of introductory college courses in Biblical Doctrines.

Everett Ferguson